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OF THE

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF
RELIGIOUS LIBERALS

AT

PHILADELPHIA

February, 1915

Program, Proceedings, and Papers

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Fifth Congress

OF THE

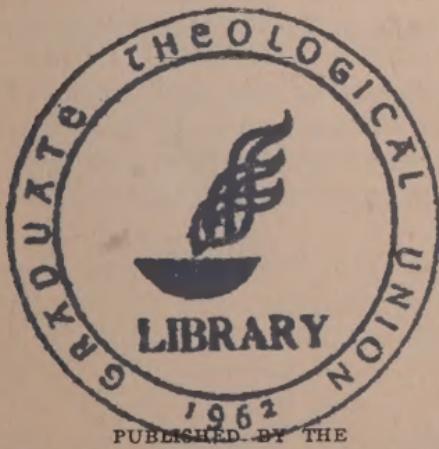
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NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS

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FOREWORD.

To many who participated in the Fifth Congress of the National Federation of Religious Liberals in Philadelphia, the thought must have come—If the rational, altruistic, and profoundly religious sentiments and opinions uttered by the speakers at the various meetings, on high themes of human and social interest, could be brought to the knowledge and acceptance of the larger American community, it would bring about a transformation of individual motives and ideals, of social and political relations, which would constitute an immeasurable advance in human insight, welfare, and happiness. Men would come to know the import of the word “brother,” and the kingdom of heaven would be nearer realization on earth.

To increase in some slight degree the influence of these ideas and ideals is the purpose of this little volume. The publication of all the papers and addresses in full is beyond the means of the association, and might not serve as useful a purpose as a condensed reproduction of the proceedings and utterances of the Congress, imparting in brief its conclusions, spirit, and aims. May it render modest but effective service in behalf of a religion of the spirit, of character, and of service, at once free and reverent, liberal and in earnest.

CHARLES W. WENDTE.

Freedom is re-created year by year;
In hearts wide open on the Godward side.

—Lowell.

PROGRAM OF THE
Fifth Congress
OF THE
**NATIONAL FEDERATION OF
RELIGIOUS LIBERALS**

Held at the Friends Meeting House, Race Street,
near North 15th Street

IN

PHILADELPHIA

February 21, 22, 23, and 24, 1915

BY INVITATION OF

THE LIBERAL MINISTERS' CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA

The National Federation of Religious Liberals.

“The purpose of the Federation of Religious Liberals is to promote the religious life by united testimony for sincerity, freedom, and progress in religion, by social service, and a fellowship of the spirit beyond the lines of sect and creed.”

“Participation in the Federation will leave each individual responsible for his own opinions alone, and affect in no degree his relations with other religious bodies or schools of thought.”

Congress Committee of the Philadelphia Liberal Ministers' Club.

PROFESSOR JESSE H. HOLMES, Ph.D., *Chairman.*
RABBI HENRY BERKOWITZ, D.D., REV. OSCAR B. HAWES.
R. BARCLAY SPICER, *Secretary.*

THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS

was organized at Philadelphia, December 2, 1908, by the late Henry W. Wilbur, and others, at a private conference of representative liberal religious thinkers and social workers of the United States. Its purpose is to unify and concentrate the forces which make for religious sincerity, freedom, tolerance, and progress in America, and bring them, so far as may be, into council and co-operation concerning the spiritual and ethical interests they possess in common. In a sense this Federation may be considered as the offspring of the International Congress of Religious Liberals, with which it is affiliated, and whose liberalizing and reconciling influences it is intended to conserve and further in the American community.

The Federation holds, from time to time, alternately with the International Congress referred to, extended public meetings of religious liberals in centres of American thought and life, at which united and earnest testimony is given in behalf of the great universal affirmations of the moral and religious life. It seeks to increase the faith of free and reasoning men in the underlying principles of pure religion held in the spirit of perfect liberty; to foster the sentiments of tolerance and good-will, both religious and racial, in the community; and to promote a fellowship of the spirit based on religious character and conduct, and not on creed and rite.

Furthermore, the Federation labors for social reform and good citizenship. It strives for the awakening of the public conscience, the promotion of social justice, and a better performance of social service and obligation. The approved institutions of human society—the family, the school, the church, and the state—in their ideal aspects receive its homage and support. The Federation cooperates with every agency which endeavors to uplift the national character and to invigorate it with ethical and social aims.

The Federation has held congresses in Philadelphia [2], New York City, and Rochester, N.Y., and now returns again to the community in which it had its birth in 1908.

Annual Membership in the Federation may be secured by a written application to its Secretary and a payment of the annual dues,—one dollar.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS.

President of the Philadelphia Congress.

Professor JESSE H. HOLMES, Ph.D., of Swarthmore College, Pa.

Secretary.

CHARLES W. WENDTE, D.D., 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., to whom applications for membership and communications may be addressed.

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S. Burns Weston, Director Ethical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. Charles W. Wendte, D.D., Foreign Secretary of the American Unitarian Association, and General Secretary International Congress of Free Christians and Other Religious Liberals.

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS.

(COMPILED BY C. W. WENDTE.)

FUNDAMENTALS OF RELIGION.

Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in thy holy hill?

He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart.—*Psalm xv. 1-2.*

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven.—*Matt. vii. 21.*

Behold, a certain lawyer stood up, and tempted him, saying, Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life? Jesus said unto him, What is written in the law? how readest thou? And he answering said, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself. And he said unto him, Thou hast answered right: this do, and thou shalt live.—*Luke x. 25-28.*

DO JUSTLY.

The path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.—*Proverbs iv. 18.*

Between man and man, or between man and brute, Justice is Righteousness.

So between nations, or orders of men, Justice is the law of duty. Justice is the cement of mankind. A Nation or Empire which neglects to be internally just, falls asunder by discord or decay.

To be first just and then loving, is to advance towards fulness of virtue.—*Francis W. Newman.*

If a man is at heart just, then so far is he God; the safety of God, the immortality of God, the majesty of God, do enter into that man with justice.—*R. W. Emerson.*

LOVE MERCY.

Love is the fulfilling of the law.—*Romans xiii. 10.*

By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.—*John xiii. 35.*

There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear. He that feareth is not made perfect in love.—*1 John iv. 18.*

All virtues grow from a compassionate love of mankind.—*Buddhist.*

PROGRAM OF THE CONGRESS.

Sunday Evening, February 21, at 7.30 o'clock.

OPENING RELIGIOUS SERVICE AT THE FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE, RACE AND NORTH 15TH STREETS.

- I. A Service of Worship.
- II. Three Brief Discourses on the Fundamentals of Religion (*Micah vi. 6-8*)—

Wherewith shall I come before the Lord and bow myself before the High God? . . . He hath showed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee but

1. "To do justly."

Rev. CHARLES E. BEALS, Secretary Free Religious Association of America, Late Director of the Central-West Department of the American Peace Society.

2. "And to love mercy."

Rev. LEE S. MCCOLLESTER, S.T.D., Dean Crane Theological School, Tuft's College, Boston.

3. "And to walk humbly with thy God."

Rev. ALFRED R. HUSSEY, Minister First Unitarian Church, Baltimore, Md.

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS.

WALK HUMBLY WITH GOD.

O come, let us worship and bow down:
Let us kneel before the Lord our maker.—*Psalm xcvi. 6.*

Crown of the moral nature—Reverence.

Religion is the recognition of our duties as divine commandments.—*Immanuel Kant.*

Religion is the expansion and most perfect form of the moral faculty of man. What is religion? It is the soul lifting itself up to its Maker.—*William Ellery Channing.*

The central truth, power, wisdom, goodness—God.—*Robert Browning.*

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE SPIRIT.

We have grown up under different influences. We bear different names. Diversities of opinion may incline us to worship under different roofs, or diversities of tastes or habit to worship with different forms. But we may still honor and love and rejoice in one another's spiritual life and progress as truly as if we were cast into one and the same unyielding form. In many great truths, in those which are most quickening, purifying, and consoling, we all, I hope, agree. There is a common ground of practice aloof from all controversy, on which we may all meet. We may all unite hearts and hands in doing good, in fulfilling God's purposes of love towards our race, in toiling and suffering for the cause of humanity, in spreading intelligence, freedom, and virtue, in making God known for the reverence, love, and imitation of his creatures, in resisting the abuses and corruptions of past ages, in exploring and drying up the sources of poverty, in rescuing the fallen from intemperance, in succoring the orphan and widow, in enlightening and elevating the depressed portions of the community, in breaking the yoke of the oppressed and enslaved, in exposing and withstandng the spirit and horrors of war, in sending God's word to the ends of the earth, in redeeming the world from sin and woe. May this universal charity descend on us, and possess our hearts; may our narrowness, exclusiveness, and bigotry melt away!—*William Ellery Channing*.

I have no regard to persons or professions; for, when we come into the truth, it will banish from the earth all sectarianism; and, when we come back into the state which we ought to be in, to become the children of God, we shall all be brethren and sisters of one family.—*Elias Hicks*.

We cannot break down the party walls which divide us, but we can build them so low that men may be able to shake hands across them.—*Thomas Binney*.

A liberal Christian or a liberal Jew will have, and will feel, ties with those Christians or Jews who could not, and do not, call themselves "liberals." But he will also feel ties with the liberals belonging to religions other than his own. More particularly should and can the liberal, or progressive, Jew and Christian dwelling in, and citizens of, the same country, be drawn to each other with bonds of sympathy and understanding. For in England, at any rate, liberal Jew and liberal Christian stand closer to each other than to any other existing creed, just as (so I venture to think) Judaism and Christianity are really more allied to each other than is either to any other of the great historical religions.—*C. G. Montefiore, England*.

A man is sufficient for himself; yet ten men, united in love, were capable of being and of doing what ten thousand singly would fail in.—*Thomas Carlyle*.

We must make ourselves great and strong by association.—*Joseph Mazzini*.

PROGRAM.

Monday Morning, February 22, at 10 o'clock,
AT THE FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE, RACE AND NORTH
15TH STREETS.

FELLOWSHIP MEETING OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS.

- I. Devotional Service.
- II. Welcome to Philadelphia by the Liberal Ministers' Club. Rev. THOMAS W. ILLMAN, Pastor All Souls' Universalist Church, West Philadelphia.
- III. Secretarial Report. Rev. CHARLES W. WENDTE, D.D., Boston.
- IV. Address: "Possibilities and Methods of a Closer Co-operation between Religious Liberals." Rev. SAMUEL A. ELIOT, D.D., of Boston, President of the American Unitarian Association.

V. General Discussion.

A full attendance and participation of members of the Federation, and all others interested in its welfare is requested.

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS.

As one shake is sufficient to precipitate into crystals a liquid saturated with salt, so, at the present time, it may be that only the least effort is needed in order that the truth, already revealed to us, should spread among hundreds, thousands, millions of men, and a public opinion become established in conformity with the existing conscience, and the entire social organization become transformed. It depends upon us to make this effort.—*Tolstoi*.

In the economy of God, no effort, however small, put forth for the right cause, fails of its effect. No voice, however feeble, lifted up for truth, ever dies amidst the confused noises of Time. Through discords of Sin and Sorrow, Pain and Wrong, it rises in deathless melody, whose notes of wailing are hereafter to be changed to those of triumph, as they blend with the Great Harmony of a reconciled Universe.—*John G. Whittier*.

He that feeds men serveth few;
He serves all who dares be true.

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS.

THE HIGHER PATRIOTISM.

Above all nations is humanity.—*Plato*.

The narrow-minded ask, is this one of our tribe, or is he a stranger? But, to those who are of a noble disposition, the whole world is but one family.—*Ancient Hindu*.

Cherish a cordial, unmovable attachment to our National Union. Be justly proud of the name of American. This government, the offspring of your own choice, has a just claim to your confidence and support. Respect its authority; comply with its laws; acquiesce in its measures.

Discourage and restrain the baleful spirit of party and faction. Avoid overgrown military establishments, which are particularly hostile to popular liberties.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate liberal intercourse, peace, and harmony with all. Permanent inveterate antagonism against particular nations and passionate animosity for others should be excluded, and in place of these just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated.—*From George Washington's Farewell Address*.

In the evolution of society it has been ordained that love of country should precede the wider love of mankind. The heart pounds out its feeling first on family and kindred, then on country, and then on humanity. First the home, then the flag, and then the cross.—*Thomas Starr King*.

Nationality and humanity are equally sacred. To forget humanity is to suppress the aim of our labors; to banish the nation is to suppress the instrument by which to achieve the aim.—*Joseph Moigneau*.

I close, as I began, by reminding you of the great tasks and duties of peace which challenge our best powers and invite us to build what will last, the tasks to which we can address ourselves now and at all times with free-hearted zest and with all the finest gifts of consecrating wisdom we possess. To develop our life and our resources; to supply our own people and the people of the world, as their need arises, from the abundant plenty of our fields and our stores of wealth; to enrich the countries of our own borders and of the world with the products of our mines, our farms, and our factories, with the creations of our thought and the fruits of our labor;—this is what will hold our attention and our efforts most steadily, now and in the years to come, as we strive to show in our life as a nation what liberty and the manifestations of an unorganized spirit may do for men and for nations, for individuals, for states, and for mankind.—*Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States*.

PROGRAM.

Monday Afternoon, February 22, at 2 o'clock,
AT THE FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE.
Topic, "THE HIGHER PATRIOTISM."

Addresses by

Rev. CHARLES F. DOLE, D.D., Minister First Congregational Society, Jamaica Plain, Boston, Mass.
Rev. SAMUEL McCORD CROTHERS, D.D., Minister First Parish in Cambridge, Mass.
EDWIN D. MEAD, Chief Director World Peace Foundation, Boston.

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS.

It is not that I love country less, but humanity more, that on this national anniversary I plead the cause of a higher and truer patriotism. Remember that you are men by a more sacred bond than you are citizens; that you are children of a common Father more than you are Americans.—*Charles Sumner, July 4, 1845.*

To deride patriotism marks impoverished blood, but to extol it as an ideal or an impulse above truth and justice, at the cost of the general interests of humanity, is far worse.—*John Morley, in "Politics and History."*

The safety of the weak nations in the presence of the strong is the best test of international morality.—*W. H. Lecky.*

Hear, hear, O ye nations, and hearing obey
The cry from the past and the call of to-day!
Earth wearies and wastes with her fresh life outpoured,
The glut of the cannon, the spoil of the sword.

Lo, dawns a new era, transcending the old.
The poet's rapt vision, by prophet foretold!
From war's grim tradition it maketh appeal
To service of all in a world's commonweal.

Home, altar, and school, the mill, and the mart,
The workers afield in science, in art.
Peace-circled and sheltered, shall join to create
The manifold life of the firm-builded state.

Then, then shall the empire of right over wrong
Be shield to the weak and a curb to the strong:
Then justice prevail and, the battle-flags furled,
The high court of nations give law to the world.

And thou, O my country, from many made one,
Last-born of the nations, at morning thy sun.
Arise to the place thou art given to fill.
And lead the world-triumph of peace and good will!

—*Frederick Lucian Hosmer.*

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS.

WAR AND PEACE.

Nation shall not lift up the sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.—*Isaiah ii. 4.*

Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.—*Jesus.*

My first wish is to see this plague to mankind [war] banished from the earth—to see the whole world in peace, and the inhabitants of it as one band of brothers striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind.—*George Washington.*

I abhor war and view it as the greatest scourge of mankind. I love peace and am anxious that we should give the world still another useful lesson, by showing them other modes of punishing injuries than by war, which is as much a punishment to the punisher as to the sufferer. Peace has been our principle, peace is our interest, and peace has saved to the world this only plant of free and rational government now existing in it. However, therefore, we have been reproached for pursuing our Quaker system, time will affix the stamp of wisdom on it, and the happiness and prosperity of our citizens will attest its merit.—*Thomas Jefferson*

To William Penn belongs the distinction, destined to brighten as men advance in virtue, of first, in human history, establishing the law of love as a rule of conduct for the intercourse of nations. While he recognized as a great end of government, "to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from abuse of power," he declined the superfluous protection of arms against foreign force, and "aimed to reduce the savage nations by just and gentle manners to the love of civil society and the Christian religion." . . . "The Great God," said this illustrious Quaker, in his words of sincerity and truth, addressed to the Sachems, "has written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love, and to help, and to do good to one another. It is not our custom to use hostile weapons against our fellow-creatures, for which reason we have come unarmed. Our object is not to do injury, but to do good. We have met, then, in the broad pathway of good faith and good will, so that no advantage can be taken on either side, but all is to be openness, brotherhood, and love; while all are to be treated as of the same flesh and blood." These are, indeed, words of true greatness. "Without any earthly weapons," says one of his companions, "we entered the land, and inhabited therein as safe as if there had been thousands of garrisons." "This little state," says Old Nixon, "is desisted in the midst of six Indian nations, without so much as a militia for its defence."

Let us now, in this age of civilization, surrounded by Christian nations, be willing to follow the successful example of William Penn, subdu'd by savages. Let us, while we recognize those transcendent ordinances of God, the law of right, and the law of love,—the double suns which illumine the moral universe,—aspire to the true glory, and, what is higher than glory, the great good, of taking

PROGRAM.

Monday Evening, February 22, at 8 o'clock,

AT THE FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE.

Topic, "INTERNATIONAL WARS AND WORLD-PEACE."

Addresses by

Professor Dr. J. RUSSELL SMITH, University of Pennsylvania.

Rev. FREDERICK LYNCH, D.D., Secretary Church Peace Union.

Professor JAY WILLIAM HUDSON, Ph.D., Faculty University of Missouri, Lecturer American Peace Society.

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS.

the lead in the disarming of the nations. Let us abandon the system of preparation for war in time of peace as irrational, unchristian, vainly prodigal of expense, and having a direct tendency to excite the very evil against which it professes to guard. Let the enormous means thus released from iron hands be devoted to labors of beneficence. Our battlements shall be schools, hospitals, colleges, and churches; our arsenals shall be libraries; our navy shall be peaceful ships, on errands of perpetual commerce; our army shall be the teachers of youth and the ministers of religion.—Charles Sumner, "*The True Grandeur of Nations.*"

War is the most ferocious and futile of human follies.—John Hay.

There are no international controversies so serious that they cannot be settled peaceably, if both parties really desire peaceable settlement. The matters in dispute between nations are nothing: the spirit which deals with them is everything.—Elihu Root.

Rabbi Ben Gamliel said, "The world stands upon three things: justice, truth, and peace." Rabbi Munah, explaining this, adds, "Yet all these have only one purpose, that is, peace." The Talmud declares, "All those that are toiling for the preservation and restoration of peace, without religious distinction, shall inherit of the Lord peace and happiness, here and hereafter."

Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.—Jesus.

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS.

RACE ANTIPATHIES.

God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.—*Acts xvii. 26.*

There are some races more cultured and advanced than others, more ennobled by education. But there are no races more noble than others. All are equally destined for freedom.—*Alexander von Humboldt.*

There is only one species of man; the varieties are numerous, but do not go deep.—*Ratzel, German Ethnologist.*

Variously gifted nations with ease interchange their respective products. But man's best products are his happy and sanctifying thoughts, which extend their fertilizing or consolatory influence for thousands of years and from generation to generation. . . . Civilization, culture, and morality are but the sum of lucid thoughts, mostly inherited by us, and of Asiatic origin. No civilized people stands high enough to be incapable of adopting anything new from the so-called barbarous nations, or not to have already adopted something from them. . . . Until four or five centuries ago the inhabitants of Europe received rather than spread the benefits of civilization.—*Oscar Peschel's "The Races of Man."*

The most frequent cause of error to which I feel myself bound to call attention has its origin in the high opinion which the European has of himself, in the habitual contempt which is the most striking feature of his relation with other peoples, and especially to those which, with greater or less reason, he treats as barbarians or savages.

If it is sad to be forced to recognize moral evil in races and in nations which have carried social civilization to the highest degree of perfection, it is consoling to acknowledge the *good* in the most backward tribes, and to find it there in its most elevated and refined form. The fundamental identity of human nature is nowhere displayed in a more striking manner.—*A. De Quatrefages, "The Human Species."*

Under all the diversities of government, custom, color, clime, which divide the nations, there is a unity deeper than all these. The humanity of each nation is older and deeper than all its traditions, than institutions, language, race.—*Dr. F. H. Hedge.*

PROGRAM.

Tuesday Morning, February 23, at 10 o'clock,

AT THE FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE.

Topic, "RACE ANTIPATHIES AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN."

I. Devotional Exercises.

II. Addresses:

1. "The Testimony of History."

Professor DANIEL EVANS, D.D., Andover Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.

2. "The Testimony of Science."

Professor FRANZ BOAS, Ph.D., Chair of Anthropology, Columbia University, New York City.

Discussion.

Tuesday afternoon no session of the Congress will be held.

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS.

Where is one that, born of woman, altogether can escape
From the lower world within him, moods of tiger or of ape?
Man is yet being made, and ere the crowning Age of ages,
Shall not æon after æon pass and touch him into shape?

All about him shadow still; but, while the races flower and fade,
Prophet-eyes may catch a glory slowly gaining on the shade
Till the peoples all are one, all their voices blend in choric
Hallelujah to the Maker, "It is finished! Man is made!"

—Tennyson.

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS.

Thou shalt not vex a stranger nor oppress him. One law shall be to him that is home-born, and unto the stranger that sojourneth among you.—*Numbers xv.*

The most important question now confronting the American people is the race problem, as it is disclosed to us in the negro question in both the South and North of the United States, the regulation of European immigration, and the attitude of our government and people towards Asiatic nations.—*David Starr Jordan, quoted in a British journal.*

Ethnology may break the concrete surface of humanity into the mosaic of a thousand races. It cannot turn into diverse channels that common undercurrent, that deep gulf stream, which heaves with the impulses and the yearnings of one nature and one blood. . . . Though the earth be striped all over with diversities of color, shape, capacity, condition, the conviction only deepens, till it becomes the tritest of doctrines, that this wide banyan tree of ranks and races has one deep root, one central stream of life, one human heart. In this fact we feel more and more the claim of every man,—in the fact that he possesses this capable and mysterious heart. We ask for no other sign. We care not what limitation of intellect, what degradation of morals may be found, what analogies may be detected between something lower than man and he. Here is the only question we ask: Does he love and fear and hope and pray with the common ground-swell of humanity? Show us the poor Indian woman who lays down her child in the woods, and folds the little palms together, — kisses the dumb lips that will never prattle more. Show us the slave mother, hounded, fang-torn, with revolvers cracking behind her, and the rolling flood before, holding in her lacerated hands her babe close to her breast, with a grasp that only death can loosen,—and in this spectacle there is that which climbs over all castes and bulwarks, enters radiant and perfumed homes, transmutes all distinctions, and strikes straight into humanity, with that “one touch which makes the whole world kin.”—*Edward H. Chapin, D.D.*

Mankind is one in origin, one in the law that governs it, and one in the goal it is destined to attain. Its faith must be one, its actions one, and one the banner under which it combats. Say not the languages we speak are different. Acts, tears, and martyrdom are a language common to all men, and which all men understand.—*Joseph Mazzini.*

Whether conscious or unconscious, yet Humanity's vast frame Through its ocean-sundered fibres feels the gush of joy or shame; — In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim.

—*J. R. Lowell.*

PROGRAM.

Tuesday Evening, February 23, at 8 o'clock,

AT THE FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE.

- I. Devotional Exercises.
- II. Topic, "RACE PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES,
AND THEIR ETHICAL SOLUTION."

Addresses:

"The American Negro." Professor WILLIAM E. B. DUBoIS, Ph.D., Director National Association Advancement of Colored People.

"The European Immigrant." W. W. HUSBAND, Washington, Former Secretary United States Immigration Commission, 1907; LOUIS EDWARD LEVY, President Association for Protection of Jewish Immigrants, Philadelphia.

"The United States and the Peoples of Asia." BANERJI, India; CHARLES W. WENDTE, D.D., Foreign Secretary American Unitarian Association.

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS.

These things shall be! a loftier race
Than e'er the world hath known shall rise
With flame of freedom in their souls
And light of knowledge in their eyes.

They shall be gentle, brave, and strong
To spill no drop of blood, but dare
All that may plant man's lordship firm,
On earth, and fire, and sea, and air.

Nation with nation, land with land,
Unarmed shall live as comrades free;
In every heart and brain shall throb
The pulse of one fraternity.

New arts shall bloom of loftier mould,
And mightier music thrill the skies,
And every life shall be a song,
When all the earth is paradise.

There shall be no more sin, no shame,
Though pain and passion may not die;
For man shall be at one with God
In bonds of firm necessity.

—John Addington Symonds.

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS.

RELIGION AS EXPERIENCE.

Religion is not something that a man may live without; rather is it the natural, normal fulfilment of life itself, life's blossoming out into perfect beauty and significance. It is the conscious bringing of man's will into harmony with the will of God, with Good Will, so that henceforth all discords cease, and the individual life makes music with the Whole.

Such being the true nature of religion, no man can be said to live to any high and holy purpose, to appreciate what life in its fulness actually means, until he has experienced religion, until he has found the living God for himself.

Man is made for religion, for conscious fellowship with God, and can never find repose, can never be at peace with himself, until this conscious union with God has been attained. From the very nature of the case, however, he must find God for himself, he must experience religion for himself. All that another can do is to point out the way, in the following of which the individual may thus find God. This is all that another can do. Religion is a personal matter between the individual and his God.—*From William Milton Brundage's "Religion as a Personal Experience."*

RELIGION AS CHARACTER.

Virtue is the health, the good habit, the beauty of the soul. —*Plato.*

Mortals, that would happy be,
Love Virtue; she alone is free;
She can teach you how to climb
Higher than the starry chime;
Or, if Virtue feeble were,
Heaven itself would stoop to her.

—*John M. on.*

The sentiment of virtue is the essence of all religion.

Character gives splendor to youth and awe to wrinkled skin and gray hair.—*R. W. Emerson.*

Character and conduct, not creed, will be the key-note of the gospel in the Church of Humanity Universal.—*Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch.*

Every human being has not only the idea of right, but is himself capable of rectitude.—*William Ellery Channing.*

The faith born of ethics is that man can do the right. The imperative itself brings the power to meet it. There is no duty if I cannot perform it. And as duty exists and charms and binds me I know I can do it.—*William M. Salter.*

PROGRAM.

Wednesday Morning, February 24, at 10 o'clock,
AT FRIENDS HALL, NORTH 15TH AND RACE STREETS.

Topic, "A STUDY OF RELIGION."

Four Addresses:

1. "Religion as Experience." Professor JESSE H. HOLMES, Ph.D., of Swarthmore College.
 2. "Religion as Character." STANTON COIT, Ph.D., President West London Ethical Society.
 3. "Religion as Service." Professor ANNA GARLIN SPENCER, of Meadville Theological School.
 4. "Religion as Worship." Rabbi WILLIAM ROSENAU, D.D., Eutaw Place Synagogue, Baltimore.
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ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS.

RELIGION AS SERVICE.

Pure religion and undefiled . . . is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.—*James i. 27.*

I do not think we have any right to think of a heaven for others, much less of a heaven for ourselves, in the world to come, until we are wholly determined to make this world a heaven for our fellow-men, and are hoping, believing, loving, and working for that, and for its realization not in a thousand or a million years, but in a nearer and nearer future.—*Stopford A. Brooke.*

That is the true mother-church where every man takes the hand of every other man helpfully.—*Ruskin.*

RELIGION AS WORSHIP.

O come, let us worship and bow down before the Lord our maker.
—*Psalm xcv. 6.*

All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship before thee, O Lord; and shall glorify thy name.—*Psalm lxxxvi. 9.*

God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.—*John iv. 24.*

Worship is the supreme ethic of the soul.

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS.

THE RELIGION TO COME.

The "New Christianity" rising all about us is the simple but mighty gospel of Jesus, enriched by science and democracy, enforced by the Philanthropic impulse, and operated through the Educational method. It puts character-building above creed-making; deeds of love above dogmas of wrath; service above sacrament; obedience to moral law above belief in theological statements.

It makes the Golden Rule central; it uses the Sermon on the Mount rather than the Nicene Creed as the chart of life; it appeals to love instead of fear; it encourages growth and discovery rather than conformity of opinion; it pleads for brotherhood and co-operation; it insists on freedom; it uses the Bible, not to make a creed, but to enrich a life.

The New Christianity finds the service of God in helpfulness to man, the way of salvation in the path of righteousness, the only authority in love and reason. . . . All truth, its Scripture: all men, its field and fellowship; all loving souls, its saints and ministers; a kingdom of heaven on earth for all, its ideal and inspiration.—*Joseph H. Crooker.*

We are blending the antagonisms of all races and the diversities of all faiths. We are giving equal powers to the best and the worst, to the wisest and the most ignorant, among the tribes of men. And, to meet these multifold demands, we have summoned the free thought and faith, the latest science of the world. We have a new continent, new liberties, new inspirations. Do we imagine that out of these combinations there shall not come creative experience such as never came before since the world was made, not even in that analogous grand concourse of races and beliefs in the Roman Empire, out of which Christendom first emerged? Our national experiment, covering the race, demands the universal religion that shall spring from the fusion of all experiences and all gifts. Not the blood of all races only is now to be mixed; but the very day is new—the day of mind, of heart, of sun and soil. The free self-governing tribes, face to face with nature, alive with scientific ardor, conscious of unparalleled opportunity, of a spiritual vision peculiar to the hour, are no subjects for the old-world faith in a prescribed historical centre.—*Samuel Johnson, at Free Religious Association.*

PROGRAM.

Wednesday Afternoon, February 24, at 2.30 o'clock,

AT THE FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE.

I. Devotional Exercises.

II. Three Addresses: "RELIGION AFTER THE WAR."

Dr. STANTON COIT, President West London Ethical Society.

Rev. U. G. B. PIERCE, Minister National Unitarian Church, Washington, D.C.

Rev. ARTHUR C. MCGIFFERT, D.D., Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

Discussion.

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS.

A better day is coming. The kingdom of heaven is at hand. A purer Christianity, however slowly, is to take the place of that which bears but its name. Cannot we become heralds of this better day? Let our hearts bid it welcome. Let our lives reveal its beauty and its power.—*Dr. W. E. Channing*.

The idolatry of dogmas will pass away: Christianity, being rescued from the sectarianism and intolerance that have defaced it, will shine by its own moral splendor, and, sublimated above all the sphere of controversy, will resume its rightful position as an ideal and not a system, as a person and not a creed.—*W. H. Lecky*.

We believe with Moses and Jesus, that the supreme command of all religion is: Love thy fellow-man as thyself," without distinction of race, or color, or creed. These words comprise all the law and the prophets, and this must be the corner-stone of all future religion. Hence it is our duty to see that justice be meted out to all; that liberty be granted to all; that the inalienable rights with which the Creator has endowed man be enjoyed by all; and that the golden rule be observed by all: Do unto others as you wish to be done by.—*Rabbi Max Lilienthal, D.D.*

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE SPIRIT.

The letter killeth, the spirit maketh alive.

Any real unity in the religious world must be spiritual, not theological. Real religious fellowship cannot be made or maintained if based on assent to speculative opinions and dogmatic doctrines.

Whatever the label may be, wherever there is enough of the spirit of God to insure substantial liberty, there is a basis for spiritual unity, which may grow into a real brotherhood in fact, and not simply in name.—*Henry W. Wilbur*.

The only religious unity possible or desirable is the union of free minds who refuse to accept finalities in religion, or bow to external authorities, but who, starting alike from the known and assured, using the same methods of reason and conscience, with no other aim than to discover the truth and obey it, find themselves brought into substantial agreement on essential points, and cherish oneness of spirit and aim, amidst large varieties of thought.—*C. W. W.*

There is a principle which is pure, placed in the human mind, which in different places and ages hath had different names; it is, however, pure, and proceeds from God. It is deep and inward, confined to no form of religion, nor excluded from any, when the heart stands in perfect sincerity. In whomsoever this takes root and grows, they become brethren.—*John Woolman*.

Don't mind the name: mind the nature, mind its effects; this is enough for us to do. Don't dispute about names—for if we do, we are dark and blind.—*Elias Hicks*.

He drew a circle that shut me out—
Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout.
But love and I had the wit to win:
We drew a circle that took him in.

—*Edward Markham*.

The best religion is the most tolerant.—*E. DeGirardin*.

The responsibility of tolerance lies with those who have the larger vision.—*George Eliot*.

PROGRAM.

Wednesday Evening, February 24, at 8 o'clock,

AT THE FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE.

CLOSING SESSION OF THE CONGRESS.

Symposium on "THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE SPIRIT."

Five-minute Addresses by:

An Episcopalian speaker, Rev. EDWARD CLARKE, Concordville.

An Ethical speaker, S. BURNS WESTON, Philadelphia.

A German Evangelical speaker, Rev. HUGO EISENLOHR, Cincinnati, Ohio.

A Jewish speaker, Rabbi NATHAN MEYER, Philadelphia.

A Unitarian speaker, Rev. O. B. HAWES, Germantown.

A Universalist speaker, Rev. CHARLES A. KNICKERBOCKER, Reading.

A Friend speaker, O. EDWARD JANNEY, of Baltimore, and others.

Closing address by Dr. CHARLES W. WENDTE, "The Unity of the Spirit."

An interval of worship, led by Professor JESSE H. HOLMES, President of the Congress.

The letter fails, the systems fall
And every symbol wanes;
The spirit overbrooding all,
Eternal love remains.

—John G. Whittier.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS.

THE UNITY OF THE SPIRIT. Proceedings and Papers of the First Congress of the National Federation of Religious Liberals, held in Philadelphia. Edited by CHARLES W. WENDTE, D.D. Boston. 1909. 287 pp. Bound volume. Price 40 cents, postpaid.

THE UNITY OF LIFE. Proceedings and Papers of the Third Congress of the National Federation of Religious Liberals, held in New York. Edited by HENRY W. WILBUR. Philadelphia. 1911. 216 pp. Price 40 cents, postpaid.

THE PROMOTION OF SYMPATHY AND GOOD-WILL BETWEEN ORTHODOX AND LIBERAL IN RELIGION. Two addresses, by AMBROSE WHITE VERNON, D.D., and WILLIAM CHANNING GANNETT, D.D., delivered at the Fourth Congress of the National Federation of Religious Liberals, held at Rochester, N.Y. Boston. 1913. Price 10 cents.

FREEDOM AND THE CHURCHES. The Contributions of American Churches to Civil and Religious Liberty. Ten addresses (given at the Rochester Congress of the National Federation of Religious Liberals), setting forth the services rendered by the American churches in promoting the cause of freedom in religion and the political order. The following well-known writers take part in the symposium: Professor Walter Rauschenbusch (Baptist), Professor Williston Walker (Congregationalist), Dr. O. E. Janney (Friend), Dr. H. G. Emdow (Jew), Dr. Lewis M. Lounsbury (Methodist), Dr. Paul M. Strayer (Presbyterian), Dr. Wm. Elliot Griffis (Reformed), Dr. L. Walter Mason (Unitarian), Dr. Isaac M. Atwood (Universalist), Edwin D. Mead (Religious Radical). The volume has been edited by Dr. C. W. Wendte. Publishers: The American Unitarian Association, Boston. Special Federation price 75 cents, postpaid.

The foregoing publications may be procured at the Book Table in the Friends Building, or from the Secretary of the Congress, Rev. C. W. Wendte, 25 Beacon Street, Boston.

THE CONGRESS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS.

BY CHARLES W. WENDTE, D.D.

[Reprint from the *Christian Register*.]

I.

By common consent of all who took part in the recent Fifth Congress of the National Federation of Religious Liberals at Philadelphia the session was one of the best this association has yet held. Aside from the interest of the topics and speakers there were local considerations which accounted for the success of the meetings. It was at Philadelphia in 1908, and in the very edifice in which our recent gathering was held, the Friends' Meeting House on Race Street, that the Federation was organized and its first meeting called. This was shortly after Unitarian, Universalist, and other liberal religious bodies were refused fellowship in the newly formed Federal council of the Churches of Christ in America, and Dr. Charles W. Eliot, Dr. Edward Everett Hale, and other delegates turned away from it. It was this action, and the desire to create on American soil an interdenominational counterpart and representative of the International Council of Religious Liberals which the year before had held a brilliant session in Boston, that led to the formation of the National Federation of Religious Liberals. For some years past there had existed in Philadelphia a Liberal Ministers' Club, which met every other Monday at the building of the Liberal Friends on North 15th Street for an informal meal, followed by a conference. Besides Liberal Friends, Universalists, Unitarians, Reform Jews, and Ethical Culturists, a dozen clergymen affiliated with so-called orthodox denominations were members of this club. Its inspiring spirit was the late Henry M. Wilbur, secretary of the Advancement Committee of the Society of Liberal Friends, a man of rare personal gifts, broad in his sympathies, frank and fearless in his opinions, witty, eloquent, and far-sighted, a natural leader of those that would follow the spirit rather

than the letter of religion. The suggestion of a nation-wide federation of religious liberals found ready acceptance with him, and the Liberal Ministers' Club welcomed it warmly. The first session in the Quaker Meeting House, under Friend Wilbur's presidency, in which Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish, orthodox and liberal speakers participated, and over a thousand members were enrolled, gave a strong impetus to the new movement. Since that auspicious beginning four congresses have been held in Philadelphia, New York City, Rochester, N.Y., and again last month in Philadelphia. While varying in interest and attendance, they have all been distinguished by these main features: first, the high intellectual and ethical level maintained; second, the affirmative, constructive, and reconciling character of their utterances, as opposed to the method of antagonism, destruction, and denunciation in religion; and last, by their inclusive, catholic, and friendly spirit toward opinions and organizations differing from the liberal point of view. Men and women of pronounced orthodoxy have been frequently heard on its platform. In Rochester the local committee of reception consisted mainly of members of Episcopal, Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches, whose edifices also were freely opened to its sessions. A warm welcome was given to a representative of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America as, by invitation, he gave an interesting account of the purpose and labors of that organization.

CONCERNING NUMBERS.

The recent congress at Philadelphia was a worthy illustration of this ideal of brotherly love and charity. It met at a time when the Quaker City was convulsed with a great revival of dogmatic religion and the intolerance that always accompanies dogmatism. Little or no notice was taken of this revival, however, although it was in striking contradiction to the principles and aims of the Federation. The sole aim was to give a worthy exposition of the great fundamental sentiments of the religious life which

serious, kindly men hold in common, whatever their form of faith or worship may be, and to preserve a tolerant and charitable spirit toward any who might think otherwise. In point of numbers, strenuousness, and publicity the modest, quiet gatherings at the beautiful, peaceful old meeting-house could not compare with the vast and excited multitudes that poured in and out of the tabernacle on Logan Square. But in humility and dignity of bearing, in reverence and piety of heart, in large-hearted charity of judgment, in intellectual power and ethical vision, it might willingly risk comparison with its big competitor. The evangelist Sunday, referring contemptuously to the smallness of our audiences,—averaging three hundred or more at the nine sessions,—said, "Our tabernacle meetings are like an army marching into battle; those at the Quaker Meeting House are like a graveyard." Well, an army marching into battle is not a very religious spectacle. It is an impious defiance of the Heavenly Father, and a curse visited on humanity, while the humblest village cemetery may stir thoughts that lie too deep for tears and incline the heart to sympathy and to prayer. But a better comparison was suggested by a bright Quaker woman at our congress: "Mr. Sunday's revival and our liberal congress are better compared to a chunk of Pennsylvania coal and a diamond. Both are carbon. But the coal flares up quickly, leaves a smudge on the atmosphere, and presently dies away in a heap of dead ashes. The diamond is small, but precious. It has abiding quality, and from every one of its faucets flashes back the light of heaven." What folly it is to cite mere numbers as the test of worthiness or superiority! How many followed Jesus to the bitter end, or acknowledged him during the first century after his death? How numerous were the Abolitionists, temperance reformers, or woman suffragists sixty years ago? Yet God was with these few and faithful witnesses, not with the scoffing crowd.

THE OPENING MEETINGS.

The purpose of the leaders of the congress to deal with fundamentals was well shown

by its opening religious service on Sunday evening, when, after religious exercises by Rabbi Eli Mayer and others, three brief discourses were given on the text from Micah vi. 6, 8, "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? . . . He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but (1) to do justly, (2) and to love mercy, (3) and to walk humbly with thy God?" These three requirements of religion were admirably discoursed upon by Revs. Charles E. Beals, a former Congregational minister at Cambridge, Mass., and more recently director of the Western work of the American Peace Society at Chicago, Dr. Lee S. McCollester, dean of the (Universalist) theological school at Tufts College, and Alfred R. Hussey, minister of the First Unitarian Church in Baltimore, Md. The great central verities of righteousness, mercy, and reverence, of character, loving service, and worship, were emphasized and brought into happy accord by the preachers. All present felt it to be a fitting beginning of an inspiring and helpful series of meetings. The next morning the business and fellowship meeting of the congress was better attended than is usual. The Federation was fortunate in securing as its chairman for the week, and later by election as its permanent president, Prof. Jesse H. Holmes, Ph.D., of Swarthmore College, a prominent member of the body of Liberal Friends, and a close friend and worthy successor of Henry Wilbur. After the devotional service Rev. Thomas W. Illman, pastor of All Souls' Universalist Church, West Philadelphia, gave a cordial welcome to the delegates and members on behalf of the Ministers' Club, at whose invitation the present session had once more assembled in the City of Brotherly Love. It was a really admirable address, setting forth the local religious situation and anticipating much good from the gathering of the Federation at that particular time. The secretarial report by Rev. Charles W. Wendte, D.D., of Boston, dealt mainly with the history, aims, and doings of the congress, particularly since its last session two years since in Rochester, N.Y. The proposal to

merge the Federation with the Free Religious Association of Boston and the Congress of Religion in Chicago had been carefully considered and dropped for the present at least. It was recognized that each of these associations had its characteristic history, aims, and methods, and a local constituency which might be imperilled by a general merger. This does not, however, preclude harmonious co-operation between these societies; indeed, the Fourth Congress at Rochester had been held conjointly with the Free Religious Association, and both societies are to unite in holding a series of meetings on the Pacific Coast next summer, in connection with the Panama-Pacific Exposition. The Federation should consider whether the time has not come for a closer official affiliation with the leading liberal denominations of the country, by which means their co-operation might be secured in the work of the society. He paid an affectionate tribute to the late president of the Federation, Henry W. Wilbur, with whom he had been so closely associated in the organization and work of the congress. The present session was being held in Philadelphia once more at the suggestion of their departed leader, and was a tribute to the universal esteem and love felt for him in liberal religious circles. Tributes were also paid to other members of the executive committee who had passed away during the year, Rev. Dr. R. Heber Newton, and Drs. J. B. Weston and J. J. Summerbell of the Christian denomination. The activities of the committee in publication and other matters were adverted to. Larger resources would bring larger results. But is it not worth while to render the service we are now performing? To unite such considerable churches and bodies of religious liberals in fraternal association; to aid them to come together from time to time in the freedom of the spirit to exchange ideas on the great topics of religion and life; to impress so far as possible the communities in which we meet and the larger American public with our principles and ideals; to scatter the seed of free religious thought and social uplift in the furrows of our time; and by force of example increase tolerance,

charity, and good will among men,—surely this is worth while.

Rev. Dr. S. A. Eliot of Boston, president of the American Unitarian Association, made an impressive address on the "Possibilities and Methods of a Closer Co-operation between Religious Liberals." We dedicate ourselves to the cause of freedom in religion because we have proved that freedom is the way to serviceableness and real fraternity—the way, but not the end. Freedom is not the final attainment; it is simply the open door. The old perpendicular lines dividing into sects and denominations are becoming obliterated. It is easier now to pass from the fellowship of one church into another. The new lines of stratification, horizontal lines, are becoming evident. To say a man is Presbyterian or Lutheran or a Friend does not define him accurately. Is he of the forward or backward looking element in his constituency? Is it not true that the forward-looking men of all fellowships find themselves now in closer affiliation with each other than with the reactionary elements in their own denominations? Spiritual affinity is a closer bond than any denominational tradition. It ought to be a joy and satisfaction to us that though a small minority we can do all in our power to lead the onward march of liberal people in all communions.

Dr. Eliot spoke of the practical possibilities of such an organization as this Federation. The primary duty, of course, was the proclamation of our message by the spoken word and the printed page, also the conference and fellowship among large-minded and kindly men and women. Lastly, to do something toward ending the almost criminal waste, overlapping, and duplication of religious efforts in many American communities, as witness the fine work done by the Massachusetts Federation of Churches in correcting these evils.

A representative of the New Thought movement, Russ H. Gilbert of Stoughton, Mass., asked and was accorded the floor for an exposition of the views of the New Thought Progressive League of Massachusetts, which he defined as "the practical

application of the teachings of Christ to the every-day life of the individual," especially in the conduct of the thoughts and the healing of disease through the power of the Spirit of God in man.

Rev. J. Clarence Lee, a well-known Universalist pastor of Philadelphia, took up the point suggested by Dr. Eliot of the duplication of Christian effort, which he deplored. We need more co-operation and fellowship to help the world realize the whole of truth, by making all sides of it clear to men.

Elizabeth Lloyd, Dr. C. W. Wendte, Rev. C. E. Beals, and the chairman, Prof. Holmes, continued the discussion with much spirit and it was adjourned to a later meeting.

II.

THE HIGHER PATRIOTISM.

The afternoon meeting was largely attended to listen to three addresses on "The Higher Patriotism." The first was by Rev. Charles F. Dole, D.D., of Boston, president of the Twentieth Century Club of that city. Dr. Dole dwelt on the misconceptions concerning what constituted patriotism. Love of one's country, the land of one's birth, is a natural and noble sentiment, but how shockingly often it is perverted! Others see in patriotism a controlling admiration for the common mind of one's nation, her history, ancestry, traditions, customs, language, literature, institutions, and religion. But is there such a common sentiment? Is the German Socialist of the same mind as the Court and Junker party? What is the common mind of the hundred millions of people of mixed races, different colors, customs, and religions in the United States? Is not a man as good a patriot who is dissatisfied with his government as one who is for it right or wrong? A valid patriotism must be constituted out of a love of humanity. It is akin to religion and belongs to a religious philosophy of life. Hence it is universal in its range and sympathies. It is based on mutual respect for the humanity to be found in all men. We like a man for his worth, not because he inhabits our

country. The chief business of life is civilization, an essentially humane and spiritual concept. We must live together efficiently and helpfully, and give every child the opportunity for ampler life. Good will is the civilizing power; human service, our means of being friendly with all men. Civilization ascends from the individual to the family, to the group or neighborhood, to the community and the state. Nationalism is no finer or holier than other forms of organization, particularly if it is abused for the privileged classes or militarism. To be a good citizen in America implies that one shall be friendly with all men. Militarism is only another word for barbarism. No nation, be it ever so strong or rich, can disobey or evade the everlasting law of righteousness, that, like gravitation, forever binds all men to serve one another and show each other good will.

Rev. Samuel M. Crothers, D.D., of Cambridge, showed how the efforts of mankind at the present time to keep the peace of the world had failed. Commercial prudence, statesmanship, armed preparation for war, and even superior virtue, had for the time failed. To keep the peace we need to reconsider our piety and our patriotism, and arrive at larger and clearer conceptions. We need a more intellectual, clear-sighted, rational religion in place of the old superstitious and mistaken ideas which have broken down so disastrously. We need a more rational patriotism in place of the old superstitious notion of it, which inevitably leads to war. The oldest religion of man was animism, and it survives in the creeds of men to-day. Kipling's "Truce of the Bear" is the purest animism. Such a religion generates suspicion and hatred between nations and peoples. Justice to a nation demands that you should not consider it as a being who hates or can be hated. A nation is a vast aggregation of people with varying sentiments and desires. It is not engaged in hating its fellow-men; it does not lie awake planning aggression upon them. I love my country, but that does not lead me to hate any other country. America is neutral to-day because, made up of two score

nationalities, it becomes us to live together in peace at home and good will to all nations abroad. To break this neutrality for the sake of any nation would mean civil war. Let us pray for a nobler religion and a more exalted and inclusive patriotism.

Edwin D. Mead of Boston, director of the World Peace Foundation, spoke of Tolstoi's tract "*Patriotism versus Christianity*," in which, in the light of recent history, he claimed that patriotism had ceased to be a virtue and become a crime, and stood more than anything else in the way of human brotherhood, the basic truth of Christianity. Howells declared in reply that there were greater words than "patriotism," e.g., "justice," "honor," and "civilization." But Tolstoi's seeming exaggeration was timely and needed. The common type of patriotism, the exaggerated national pride, the extravagant national self-consciousness, the feeling of national self-assertion and rivalry, is opposed to a true Christianity. It is this perverted patriotism on which the autocracies and militarists of Europe have chiefly relied in their ambitions and plans—plans which lead at last to international anarchy like that we are witnessing to-day. We can only hope that, as slavery went out by emancipation, this terrible international anarchy will also go out in the purgatory or hell of war. But to make sure of this we must annihilate the false notion that a nation, any nation, is the ultimate end in political life; that humanity as a whole has no superior rights against it. It is this pernicious theory, backed by force, that has wrought the present trouble. It is this theory that must be destroyed.

In the United States also this theory is upheld and taught the very children in the schools. It is identified with militarism; its symbols are chiefly the gun and drum. A Sunday-school paper contained "*A Lesson in Patriotism*," and with a picture of an old gray-haired man showing a boy a gun. "What is patriotism?" asked a Washington school-teacher during the Spanish-American War. "Killing Spaniards," was the reply. But a country worth saving is, as Lowell said, worth saving all the time, and the patriotic

citizen very seldom has any occasion for the soldier's duty. The philosopher Kant teaches that the peace movement and democracy go together, and lead inevitably to a family of nations where the various peoples would recognize themselves as co-operative brothers, and not as hostile enemies. Human history is utterly meaningless and inexplicable unless we are led through its mazes by the conviction that beneath all its struggle and rivalries there is working out a definite and divine purpose—the federation of the peoples of the earth, the brotherhood of man. The tragedy of all this terrible struggle is that the Church itself has been such an upholder of a false patriotism. There is hardly a nation in Europe that worships anything above a tribal god to-day. Yet if there is any institution in the world that is bound by every principle of its charter to be a great international institution it is surely the Christian Church. "I like to think of a better time coming when the spiritual forces of religion shall be superior to this tumult, lack of brotherhood, and false patriotism; when the Church shall become what it ought to be and help the nation also to realize its highest possibilities; when patriotism shall be truly the expression of the religion of Christ, and both Church and nation shall give the world a nobler, better, more brotherly and religious life."

It was felt by all present that the birthday of Washington and the opening of the congress could not have been celebrated in a more worthy and uplifting manner.

INTERNATIONAL WARS AND WORLD PEACE.

On the evening of the 22d inst. there was a fine audience to hear three addresses on War and Peace. Prof. J. Russell Smith of the University of Pennsylvania, and a Friend, was the first speaker. "The theory that to avoid war you must prepare for it is proved false by recent events. But the converse is also untrue. The United States has never been prepared for war and yet has plunged into it with the greatest gaiety, trusting its potential power to win the victory. The lust for power lies at the bottom of the present

rivalry, strife, and political anarchy. Within certain countries there is government; between them and other countries there is practically none, for there is no superior power to enforce rules, treaties, and the like. The hope for peace lies in the reasonable presumption that nations, like individuals, will realize that for each to be the settler of his own disputes is intolerable. As it is now, the whole world is at the mercy of any one who chooses to go for conquest, just as in the Wild West some 'bad man' threatens to do so and so, and everybody must arm against him. Our county and State government, when it comes, puts the 'bad man' in his place, and a fuller organization of the world government will put the bad nation in its place by the application of the peace idea. Meanwhile we must endeavor to effect a working arrangement. Let the United States offer to make alliance with those countries that desire peace, such as England, France, Italy, Sweden, Denmark and Norway, Holland and Belgium. Probably Germany would think it wise to enter, especially if relieved of the fear of Russia. The disputes and difficulties which might arise could be settled by arbitration. The first violator would be dealt with by the group of nations whose armies and navies would be at the call of the peace alliance. Indeed, military force would rarely be needed for this purpose. Economic pressure, refusal to have any dealings or intercourse with such a recalcitrant nation, would be sufficient to compel it to desist and behave itself. May our United States government be equal to present great opportunity and approach the other nations with some such practical suggestion."

Rev. Frederick Lynch, D.D., secretary of the Church Peace Union, and editor of *Christian Work*, referred to his experiences in Europe when the war first broke out, and the impressions he received. "Any nation based on militarism will sooner or later be doomed to war. The civilization of Europe has been largely founded upon it for the past forty years, and there is danger that our own may be. Americans are told that to become a world power and have part in

the concert of nations we must have a great army and navy. And Japan, China, and India are coming to the same conclusion. Europe has been thinking in the terms of militarism century after century, with what tragic results we know. When I return to the United States and find here a group of people doing their best to have the United States fall into the footsteps of Germany, England, and France, and build up vast armies and navies, the system that has failed so disastrously in Europe, I wonder if these people have gone mad, if they are utterly blind and do not see by the lesson across the ocean what this system of armed force has done for the unfortunate nations that have followed it, and what it will inevitably do for us if we adopt it. Instead of arming against Japan let us devote some of these millions in bestowing upon Japan new universities, libraries, and other benefactions, expressions of our good will. Nations living continually in deadly suspicion of each other—a suspicion bred of ignorance and false notions of what constitutes patriotism—will surely, sooner or later, be at war with each other. This mutual suspicion is a poisonous infection, a disease. It infects even Christian ministers and men of learning and science. There are men in our country engaged in sowing these seeds of hatred and engendering this evil atmosphere of international suspicion and hostility. Let us recognize and suppress them. Let us base our civilization on higher, nobler sentiments and become a power for peace and good will among the nations."

Prof. Jay William Hudson, Ph.D., of the University of Missouri, and lecturer of the American Peace Society, closed the evening's discussion. "What is the strongest argument against war? It is that it is not right. There is an economic and a biologic argument; but we are considering its moral aspects. It is the argument for righteousness with which we are concerned. Let us try to get before the American people these fundamental ideas: First, we ought to arrive at an age of reason which shall solve problems in terms of rational procedure, of science, philosophy, and moral idealism. That is pre-eminently the American way, the way of

deciding both national and international affairs in terms of rational, responsible democracy and by the method of arbitration.

The causes of the European war were not rational; they did not have a difference that could not have been arbitrated in the beginning. We need a rational settlement of disputes, a willingness to submit them to arbitration, instead of race prejudice, international suspicion and hatred, the gospel of force. Let America teach the warring nations a new morality, a new religion.

Secondly, America teaches that the unit of civilization is the individual. Let the individual come into his own. Give the average man his rights. Is he getting it in Europe to-day? Sherman said war was hell. It is worse than hell. To hell, according to the theologians, only the wicked go. But in war the innocent get punished most of all, the women and children, and the soldiers, who are not responsible for the war. Public opinion in Europe did not want the war. The Russians and British people did not want to fight the Germans, nor the latter the French. The individual welfare is sacrificed to the selfish aims or whims of the rulers and privileged classes. Only by international co-operation can the rights of individuals be assured.

Thirdly, it is a social individual whom America emphasizes. His rights include the rights of every other individual, his social set includes all the sons and daughters of men, his national responsibilities have become international, as we see in America's considerate treatment of Mexico. Finally, America believes in a cosmopolitan civilization and is the greatest example of it the world offers to-day. We have reached a cosmopolitan culture, a cosmopolitan race made up of all races of the earth. We do not believe that one race is better than another, that one civilization or form of culture has the right to superimpose itself on the world. If an ideal is worth while we do not ask whence it came. We open our minds to it. The mind of the nation is the melting-pot for all ideals and all culture. Let the races everywhere not keep separate,

but get together. This is America's message to the world. If the warring nations won't get together, let the neutral ones—there are thirty-four of them—do so, in the spirit of good will and co-operation, and let the United States call them into conference for the restoration of peace and the new co-operative movement of mankind."

III.

THE RACE PROBLEM.

Tuesday ushered in another notable meeting of the Congress. It was a day of almost flawless beauty, the mild spring weather continuing throughout the sessions of the week. The topic "The Race Problem in the United States" had been chosen not only because of its importance, but in memory of the deep interest taken in this question by the late president of the Congress, Henry W. Wilbur. It was discussed at the morning session in its ethical and scientific aspects.

Prof. Daniel Evans of the Andover Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Mass., one of the most faithful, genial, and highly esteemed participants of the Congress, opened the morning's discussion with a paper on "Race Antipathies and the Brotherhood of Man."

The increasing contact of races throughout the world gives occasion for the feeling of antipathy to manifest itself, the judgment of prejudice, the attitude of friction. These find expression in bitter hatred, contemptuous estimates, and destructive warfare. This presents us with serious problems. As Americans we are profoundly interested in democracy; as men we are concerned with world-wide human values; as Christians we pray for the coming in of the brotherhood of man. Are such ideals and hopes irrational and vain? Antipathy is a reaction in the presence of certain objects and persons seeming strange, different, and unlike to us. They are largely instinctive and unreflective. They are not purely racial, but a complex of instincts, feelings, and of acquired experiences, economic, cultural, and religious, difficult to distinguish.

Race antipathies have served useful purposes at times, tending to keep pure, safe,

and superior certain peoples; but progress consists in eradicating some instincts, and controlling others by reason. Instinct must give way to intelligence and moral insight. Reason demands a more considerate and humane treatment of all men. There must be racial contact and neighborliness. There never has been and there is not now such a thing as a pure race. The superiority of any race is only partial. The race is only superior in certain respects; other races are superior in other respects. The contribution of each is needed for the fuller and richer life of all. Humanity is above all races and nations. The truly great men and women belong to the human race as a whole more than to a special race. The rational and righteous line of advance in our day lies in the production and enjoyment of the distinctive human values, and the appreciation of each race for its actual or potential contribution to the life of humanity. The arts and sciences know no racial boundaries. We must estimate more highly the latent wealth that lies in the backward races. There is sore need for a more inclusive, more tolerant and kindly personal attitude toward members of other races than our own. This should lead to mutual knowledge, mutual respect, mutual forbearance, and mutual fellowship. Each man should be proud of the race to which he belongs, but prouder still that he belongs to humanity.

Prof. Franz Boas, Ph.D., of the Chair of Anthropology, Columbia University, New York, discoursed on the testimony of science concerning the race issue with a fulness of information and thoroughness which make it impossible to do justice to his address in any brief summary.

Every one has to contend against the emotional feeling of differences between the races of mankind and the antipathies it generates. Our thinking and behavior are too often determined by emotion, and not by reason and truth. How do these racial antipathies arise? In ascertaining this, science can make its most important contribution to the question. We must look back over long eras in the history of civilization. In South Africa, for instance, we find the

Bushmen. The attitude toward these by all the other negroes, Boers, and Europeans is that they are not human beings, and should be killed on sight. This was obviously in very early times the attitude toward all neighbors. All who belong to other species of mankind are held to be dangerous enemies who must be pursued and made harmless. This condition of affairs did not last long, however. Gradually the groups of men increased in size, partly through intermarriage with neighboring tribes. But outside this larger community there was still the foreigner, feared and hated. Very slowly the idea disappeared that the foreigner was not human. It did not matter whether he belonged to one's own race or not. It was sufficient that he belonged to another community. This stamped him as an enemy. It did not matter either whether all the members of one's own group belonged to the same race or not, so that there was a community of interest among them. Thus gradually arose the peculiar feeling between one community and another which still persists, and leads to oft-repeated conflicts.

Yet there has been advance. At first the outsiders were absolute enemies, but gradually, while we cherish a different feeling for the members of our own political unit than for foreigners, we are more disposed to do the latter justice. In time to come many national antipathies now existing will disappear. But this antipathy is really not racial, it is social, bred of conflicting social, industrial, political differences. The whole course of history shows us that in early times there was no feeling of racial antipathy as we now use the term, for the original political units or communities were made up often of various races.

In the Mohammedan world to-day the race hatreds of Christendom do not occur, because all Mohammedans, whether white or negro or whatever, are socially equal. In Hindu India there is marked antipathy between people of different castes, but as soon as they become Mohammedans this disappears or takes on a very different form and becomes antipathy between Mohammedans and non-Mohammedans; *i.e.*, it is based on

religion and not on race. Similar conditions exist in Mexico between the Spanish and Indian populations.

Race antipathy, then, is really of modern development, and belongs essentially to Northern Europe. As most of its inhabitants belong to a certain type (while Southern Europeans are made up of a mixture of many races or types) an opportunity is offered for substituting the idea of race for the idea of social unity, and this for a thousand years has been the ruling conception among so-called Teutonic, Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and other Northwestern European peoples. The latter claim to be the highest development of mankind. But this is fallacious. The supposedly Teutonic type really is made up of a great many different peoples, speaking different languages. Our claim to be a superior race, and to have inherited from the ancient Aryans a superior language and qualities,—the very notion that there once was such a superior Aryan race, are fallacies based merely on our sentiment in favor of peoples who look like ourselves. All this talk of a contest between the Slavonic, French, or Teuton races is fictitious. The peoples of Finland, Northwestern Russia, Holland, Belgium, Northern France, and Eastern England are all of the same type by descent. The peoples of Central France, Bavaria and Central Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia, Northern Italy, a large part of Hungary, Austria, and some parts of Russia, are all of the same type, as scientific research easily establishes. Therefore any antipathy between them because of race is mistaken, is absurd.

The antipathies that exist between them are the offspring of national solidarity combined with the old-time feeling that all who stand outside of the particular unit must be hostile to it.

Prof. Boas, in conclusion, pointed out the bearing of this on immigration. The people who now come to us from Southeastern Europe are not of a different type from ours. The same mixture occurred in Europe as is now occurring here. Every type practically was brought together in England just as now in America. To those who fear evil results from this mixture it is well to recall that

Spain's best period was when it was characterized by an unequalled blending of peoples, Italian, Celtic, Teutonic, Arabic, Moorish, and others. When these were driven out there began the decadence of Spain. We imagine that a mixed race is inferior to a pure race, but no scientific proof of any sort can be given to show either the superiority of one type over another or to indicate any inferiority for the mixed types. Evidently, then, our behavior toward other races is dictated by the intense preference we have for the social forms in which we have grown up. Our antipathies are not founded on any physical repulsion, else how could we explain the presence of a very large number of mixed elements in our population. If we are to develop a true democracy and a brotherhood of man we must overcome these emotional and irrational antipathies, and do justice to all men and to different types of national individuality.

The subject was discussed further by Elizabeth Powell Bond, Mr. Bannerji of Calcutta, Prof. Daniel Evans, and others.

In the afternoon a reception was given the delegates in the beautiful Clover Room of the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel by the ladies of the Philadelphia Reception Committee. It was a delightful occasion, much enjoyed by all who participated in it.

IV.

THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION.

The evening was devoted to the more practical aspects of race and immigration.

Prof. William E. B. Dubois, Ph.D., Director National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, opened the discussion.

There is a very real way of looking on the present war as a result of racial antipathy, because of the falling out of great nations over spoils, and the spoils are furnished by the dark peoples of the world. It is the exploitation of Africa, Asia, and certain parts of South America and the South Seas that is the great spoil of the organized industrial nations of to-day. When these nations say they are fighting for a place in the sun, they

mean very literally the chance to rule over the dark nations of the world for their own benefit. Herein lies a tremendous danger. Moreover, this lust for spoils has gone over into the white laboring classes who are coming forward and striving to better their condition in modern democratic society. The labor vote and co-operation are needed for the creation of the great armaments employed for this exploitation of the darker races. Unwilling to place themselves on a level with Chinks and Dagoes and negroes, the white laborers throw their influence against them and share in their spoliation. Even the Socialists bar out Asiatics in their schemes for social salvation.

The colored peoples of the world will endure this treatment as long as they must, and no longer.

Our eighteenth-century democracy was built on slavery, and it was growing into an oligarchy. We are doing better to-day, but our democracy is halted by its antipathy toward certain races. We believe in a democracy for white people, but not for the other races. Can we not as Americans, and believers in humanity, give the world an example of what democracy may be when it takes in all races and all men? Treat colored people as you yourself would like to be treated. Condescend to men of low estate. Do not draw aside and make a little circle of the elect to look with contempt on the unlettered man and build up your civilization with the smaller group. This has always failed in human history. To live, society must get back to the masses. Let us seek to bring all people into a larger democracy. If we want to get the message of democracy into the world and show its possibilities, our first duty is to see to it that all men of all colors in the United States are part of the real civilization of the United States.

W. W. Husband of Washington, D.C., former secretary of the United States Commission on Immigration, treated of the restriction of immigration, giving a thoroughly informed, well-considered account of the history and the methods proposed for regulating and restricting the influx of foreign elements into the United States, especially

the literacy test. Thirty-one million immigrants, approximately, entered the United States between 1819 and 1914. The changes in the composition of this immigration are noteworthy. In 1882, when the movement from Northwestern Europe reached its highest, eighty-seven out of every one hundred of European immigrants came from Great Britain and Ireland, Germany, Scandinavia, and neighboring countries. Only twenty-five years later, in 1907, 81 per cent. came from Southern and Eastern Europe and from Asia. Austro-Hungary, Italy, and Russia furnished the bulk of this migration. The speaker believed that these new immigrants were fundamentally good in physique and character. But the old immigration was mainly to the interior of the country and to the land, whereas the new is to the cities, and to industrial pursuits rather than agriculture. The old immigration was largely of families. Three-fourths of the new immigrants are males. The old immigration was stable. It remained in the land. The new is unstable, fully 40 per cent. of the Southern and Eastern Europeans who enter the United States returning to their own countries again. Sixty-five per cent. of the new immigrants are destined for the five States of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey. More go to the little industrial State of Connecticut than to the great agricultural States of Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Oklahoma combined. Between 1900 and 1910 our city population increased 35 per cent., our rural population only 11 per cent. The foreign-born population in the cities increased 3,000,000, that of the rural communities only 300,000. Our whole American population increased 21 per cent. between 1900 and 1910, but the average of land in crops increased only 10 per cent. and the volume of crops only 10 per cent., while the value of such crops increased 67 per cent.

These are startling figures, for which our recent immigration must be held chiefly, though not wholly, responsible. Again, in 1900 there were 914,917 foreign-born males who had taken no step toward acquiring citizenship, but in 1910 the number of such

aliens in our midst had increased to 2,226,535, an increase of 147.7 per cent. in ten years.

The study of these and other facts for over three years compelled the Immigration Commission of nine members, some of whom had been anti-restrictionists, to come to the unanimous conclusion that we are getting too many immigrants for the good of the country, or rather too many of one class. Therefore they recommended restriction of the immigration of unskilled laborers, and the imposition of the literacy test as the "most feasible" among many methods suggested to accomplish this result. About 35 per cent. of the present immigrants from Southeastern Europe, and about 6 per cent. of those from Northwestern Europe are illiterate.

In conclusion the speaker explained the plan of Senator Dillingham providing that the number of aliens of any nationality who may be admitted in any year shall not exceed 10 per cent. of the number of persons of such nationality already in the United States. Thus the 200,000 from Italy would be reduced to 134,000, and from Austria-Hungary from 220,000 to 167,000; from Greece about one-half. This plan would be especially effective in solving the problem of Asiatic immigration, as it would make no discrimination against those countries, while keeping their immigration low.

Mr. Louis E. Levy, president of the Association for the Protection of Jewish Immigrants in Philadelphia, praised President Wilson for vetoing the late Immigration Bill with its literacy test. The real purpose of this bill was to diminish the influx of elements from Southern and Eastern Europe, on the plea that as a class the latter were inferior to those of Northern and Western Europe. This assumption the speaker held to be altogether untrue. He defended with much keenness of reasoning and warmth of feeling the Jewish immigrant from Russia and Poland, claiming that he was potentially a very desirable addition to the population of America. He came to stay and grow up with the country, and to add to its riches his industry, thrift, mental alertness and love of freedom, education, morality, and religion.

Mr. I. P. Bannerji of Calcutta, India, spoke earnestly against the exclusion of the Hindus from the United States. There are but four thousand Hindus in the country, four hundred of whom are students at its colleges, and yet the Pacific States profess to see in this a menace to their civilization. Restrict the coming of the laboring elements, if you must, but do it fairly. Do not discriminate against them as Asiatics, but treat them as impartially as any other people who come to you. Remember how great is your own obligation to India. Three hundred years ago Europe was gaining its civilization and its science from Asia. From Asia also came the dominant religious and philosophical ideas of Christendom.

Rev. Charles W. Wendte, foreign secretary of the American Unitarian Association, also spoke of Asiatic immigration. While the attention of mankind is more immediately attracted to the European situation, and its bearing on our immigration and other social and political problems, the far-seeing statesman will recognize that the most important issue presented to us is our relation with Asiatic people, and their attitude toward us. One thousand million Chinese, Mongols, Japanese, and Hindus are awakening to higher intellectual, educational, political, and religious life. They are not simply learning from us, they are cherishing and developing their own traditions and institutions. They aspire to be the equals of Western nations, and to become world powers. Following our bad example they are learning to lay emphasis on their military armaments. Japan, proud of her newly created army and navy, seeks to enter the present war. Other Oriental nations are preparing to rise, like Japan, into political and military power. It will not be long before they demand recognition and a part in the concert of nations, economically and politically. It is of vast importance to us and to them in what spirit they enter that concert. If it is with ranking memories of our injustice and contemptuous treatment, or fear and distrust of our motives and aims, America may expect to find the peoples of Asia in arms against her. Our commerce with Asia will be imperilled, our

friendly relations destroyed, and another generation may suffer from a world-struggle like to that which now convulses Europe. The instant demand is for justice and courtesy toward Asiatic nations on the part of Americans. The speaker, who resided seventeen years in California, shares the desire of the people of that State to limit the influx of Asiatic laborers, but declared that the interests of the whole people of the United States were superior to those of any single commonwealth. He advocated the so-called Gulick plan, similar to that of Senator Dillingham, by which, without discriminating against any particular nation, a restriction of immigration by means of a percentage ratio of admission into this country would be assured.

V.

A STUDY OF RELIGION.

The closing session of the Congress witnessed no diminution in the interest taken in its proceedings. At the morning session Prof. Jesse H. Holmes, Ph.D., of Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, president of the Congress, opened a discussion or Study of Religion which proved of great interest. He spoke of "Religion as Experience." As a teacher of youth he had to encounter among his students an amazing ignorance of religious history, scriptures, philosophy, doctrines, and institutions. The same ignorance existed in the public mind. After giving several illustrations the speaker called attention to the present-day use of hell, so much referred to in Philadelphia at the moment. It can be counted on for a laugh at any time, not less in evangelical and revival services than in secular society. Yet who that realizes any legitimate meaning for the term could be brought to laugh at it? Great audiences are convulsed with the humor of the suggestion that this or that man was plunged in hopeless and everlasting torment. Yet these same persons would not smile at the sufferings of the wounded lying in brief agony in the trenches of France or Poland, or the starvation in Belgium.

We are beginning at the wrong end absolutely in our teachings. God should be taught first as an element of real experience, all historical matter taking its proper place as merely illustrative material, to show that other men in other times had the like experience of God. A Quaker need not apologize for making the starting-point of religion to be the Inner Light. But one can find it taught in Plato, Augustine, and Luther. The Inner Light is by no means a distinct faculty of consciousness. It is rather a resultant of all our powers making use of all our experience. This shows us duty or righteousness, and God the great Power, the friend to whom we turn for help in doing right. Define this Divine help as you will, no one would claim it as his normal self. It is simply that in the higher, more creative regions of effort and decision we have, if we choose, communion and co-operation with a brighter and nobler personality than our every-day self. It creates uncontent with our selfish ease and rouses us to nobler effort.

It should be one of the duties of this Federation to register its protest against the crude mediævalism now received by thousands as Christianity. It has failed conspicuously in the mission field; it fails everywhere. God as experience is a power that makes for righteousness. The proof of this lies in experiencing it. It is the inspiration, protection, guide of the individual. It is the motive power of humanity.

Prof. Holmes dwelt upon certain collateral issues involved in the idea of God, the seeming triumph of evil, the disclosures of an unmoral, indifferent Nature. But let us not lose faith that it is God's voice we hear, his call that quickens and directs us, demanding our service for the establishment of world-faith, world-hope, world-love.

Dr. Stanton Coit, Ph.D., president of the West London, England, Ethical Society, said he accepted absolutely Dr. Holmes's statement of Religion as Experience. His own subject was "Religion as Character." "It is only recently that we have begun to know what religion and what character is, just as we are only beginning to know

what electricity, radium, helium, and so on, are. It is only within twenty years that psychologists have said anything worthy on character, writers such as Prof. Shand of England, and Prof. McDougall in his 'Social Psychology.' In this book the latter points out that character is co-ordination, through experience and suffering, of all the instincts and aptitudes of a man about some one object of interest; character is a system of organization of instincts and impulses. If you have this co-ordination of all the forces of your being toward an object you have character.

"But what shall that object be? Shall it be wealth? That gives wonderful character, but not in partnership with God. The religions of the world try to focus attention on those objects which, if they are loved and revered, must lead to the welfare of the human race. The Christian sects have focussed on Jesus Christ, and have made no mistake in this, instead of turning to Judaism or Buddhism or Socrates. I do not believe Jesus was supernatural. I do not believe it necessary to make Christianity Christocentric. But in the history of mankind there could not be a character better to focus on than Jesus Christ. I hold that what people call God is the sum total of the things they know, and to centre on this is to be religious. The common mind in us all—that is God. Wherever two or three are gathered together with this purpose there is the Unity of the Spirit. There is everywhere in the community an ideal order, a craving for the realization of the ideal power,—in the family, the church, the larger life of the nation. As you draw near it you are transfigured with its likeness. Religion is the discipline of character. Besides this ideal order we have also the eternal order of things, a uniformity of order that is not in our keeping. To recall and revere it dignifies us. To love it is to experience what one may call an ethical mysticism. If I lose myself in God it is a mystical experience. God is the power that redeems."

Rabbi William Rosenau of the Eutaw Place Synagogue, Baltimore, treated of "Re-

ligion as Worship." Most people lay emphasis on religion as experience, character, and service; it is withheld by some from religion as worship. Yet worship is at once a recognition of the supremacy of God and the need of a conscious adjustment with his divine will and purpose. It is instinctive and natural to man and hence universal. When all other expressions of religion are wanting in man worship continues and keeps the higher life alive in him. As worship develops, fear and selfish hope give way to trust and love and self-surrender. Worship leads to introspection, self-reproach, aspiration, and improvement. It has promoted art, architecture, literature, and song. It is vitalizing and uplifting, rejoicing the heart. It leads to optimism in religious philosophy. In one form or another it is an indispensable element in moral and religious culture.

VI.

RELIGION AS SERVICE.

Prof. Anna Garlin Spencer of the Meadville Theological School was received with a warmth that showed how deep is the personal regard felt for her in liberal religious circles. "My task is to apply the religion which has been so inspiringly presented by the previous speakers and to speak of 'Religion as Service.' Service is the sharing of whatsoever one has that is beautiful and good and helpful with him that has not, or has it in less degree and who seeks for more than he has attained. The whole trend of the moral idealism of the world to-day is toward this sharing of the best, toward the spiritual consciousness of democracy. Those most consecrated to service are now placing their attention on very simple but fundamental things. First, physical health. The physical basis of life is essential to the highest spiritual development. Out of 2,500,000 babies born every year in the United States at least 300,000 die before the end of the first year, one in eight. But this is far better than fifty years ago when it was one in five, or than a hundred years ago when it was one in three. The needless death of little children is the most sensitive intimation

in the matter of the physical basis of life as to how far we have progressed and how far we have still to go. In sixty-six cities we have baby-saving agencies, and the Federal Government has a department devoted to it.

"Moreover, intelligent investigation into the reasons why so many babies die discloses that insufficient income, overwork, underfeeding, bad sanitary conditions, as well as parental ignorance and neglect are accountable for it. In families where there is a weekly income of \$25 or upward only 86 babies die out of every 1,000 before the end of the first year; but in families where the income is \$10 or less, 250, and even more, die out of every 1,000.

"Is not religion disclosed in service? Surely if God is in anything, He is in the love of fathers and mothers for their children; if He is in anything, He is in the law that has set the solitary in families; if He is in anything, He is in that solemn hush that comes over the thoughtless and shallow even at the sound of the baby's cry as it enters this struggling world!

"A thousand similar illustrations of Religion as Service might be cited. Our greatest needs are to get rid of inherited evils, to attain the right physical basis of life, to arrive at a true democratization of industry, to purify political life, and to furnish the world with a rational, ethical, spiritual, social church. Somewhere in this modern world the highest vision and leadership must build an altar and conduct a service of ideal perfection which will strengthen, reassure, and inspire the soul of man. It is time for a rational, ethical, humanitarian religion to organize itself for more effective service.

"I have for a long time been connected with people who seem to be afraid—disinclined, at least—to make it known that they are doing anything in the world. They have their meetings, hold dignified, quiet, conventional gatherings, nothing done that any one could object to—and how few go! How few know the great words of hope and trust, the great inspiration of the liberal faith! How few understand that the world is translating itself in terms of the higher reason, in terms of the good life as the one

test of religion, in terms of a service consecrated, complete, to the well-being of the world, as a testimony to one's faith in the eternal! How many people know it? Why do they not know it? It is because we have divided and divided till there are so few of us in any one group that we make no impression on the imagination of the multitude. We should have a procession if we were united. . . . The time is come for organization, and the proof is in the fact that our evangelical friends have organized. One of the greatest things that ever happened in America is the Federation of the Churches of Christ in America. . . . Thirty denominations divided by infinitesimal differences of creed and practice have joined together in the effort for uplift and service of the race. Some of us have not been invited to join. The Unitarians, the Universalists, the Quakers, the Ethical Culture people are outside, and the Free Religion people, as well as a great many splendid forums where the spirit of the Lord meets with men's spirit every Sunday and on many week-days. What shall we do? Shall we stay outside in little separate groups? I pray not. The best thought that has ever been uttered, as I believe, in the United States on the great problems of universal and eternal and essential elements of religion has been uttered on the Free Religion. A certain platform that struck twelve on the interpretation of the thought side of religion many years ago. Let us keep it unbroken, and not let it become merely a memory of the past. The Ethical Culture Society have emphasized character in religion. They have not been ardent in missionary effort, they have not taken hold of the great opportunities of this country as they might have done. They have failed in many points where a less academic and more practical organization would have succeeded in capturing the ethical interest and consecrated feeling in the community, waiting the organization. Let the Federation of Religious Liberalism, which takes in all of any faith that is willing to fellowship with any one who wants to serve and will consecrate himself, consider this matter. This might be the great practical army, and make

in the very heart of a rational and ethical religion the great fellowship for social service. Shall we do it? It depends upon whether there is in the religious leadership of the United States under these different forms of liberalism the power that will co-ordinate these elements of the greatest thought yet spoken in the religious life, of the greatest consecration to the ethical element in religion made vocal in social activity, to co-operate in a broader plan than can the Federation of the Churches of Christ in America as now constituted. . . . Let us not make an army to shut our brothers out, but let us not either permit our brother to make an army to shut us out. If he shuts us out from his platform, let us all come together and make our platform so broad that in a very little time he will come up the stair with outstretched hand, and we will meet him as he comes. . . . I ask you, friends, to consider the need in American life to co-ordinate its brightest and finest, most ethical and spiritual religion in an effective organization."

The stirring appeal of Mrs. Spencer for a more effective organization of religious liberalism was not without results. A special meeting of the Federation was held in the afternoon, at which its president, Prof. Jesse H. Holmes, Dr. Charles W. Wendte, Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, Susan W. Janney, Rev. Charles E. Beals, secretary of the Free Religious Association of America, Rabbi Meyer, Rabbi Nathan, Rev. Charles St. John, R. Barclay Spicer, O. Edward Janney, Dr. J. Clarence Lee, and others, discussed the problems and possibilities of such a co-operative movement. It was decided to hold a one-day session of the Federation, conjointly with the Free Religious Association, at Oakland, Cal., on the 29th of August, to bring the liberals of the Pacific Coast into touch with their Eastern fellow-workers. Dr. C. W. Wendte, Rev. C. E. Beals, and Mrs. Prof. Spencer were appointed the committee for this purpose. It was decided also to invite the Unitarian and Universalist denominations, the Society of Friends, Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Society for Ethical Culture, and other similar bodies, to appoint official representatives and dele-

gates to the Federation and to participate in and make such financial contributions to its work as might seem to them equitable and just. A board of official lecturers, a weekly journal, a more thorough organization for business were mentioned as desirable. Also a smaller executive committee to permit of more frequent conference.

VII.

RELIGION AFTER THE WAR.

The afternoon session gave a practical turn to the more theoretical discussion of the morning. It was a matter of regret that two of the speakers announced on the programme, Rev. Frank O. Hall and Rev. William L. Sullivan of New York, were prevented from filling their engagements. The intellectual riches at the disposal of the Congress were disclosed when their places were promptly filled by men of scholarship and eloquence, who treated in a masterly way of the topic of the session, "Religion after the War."

The first speaker was Dr. Stanton Coit of London, England, whose readiness to take Dr. Hall's place on the programme without special preparation for the task was greatly appreciated by the committee and, as it proved, by the audience. The speaker began by an allusion to his published book on National Idealism, in which he sets forth this quality as the essence of religion. He had been thrilled with the manifestations of patriotism in every country. "The great outstanding truth of the war is that it has awakened every nation to the sense of spiritual unity. One week of spiritual life in England since the war has been worth twenty before the war, with all our petty class and sect and sex distinctions, everybody quarrelling with everybody else. The moment the integrity of the British Empire was at stake the whole nation was as one soul and one spirit, everybody trying to be self-sacrificing and ready to give his substance and himself for the higher interests of England. Belgium was a dull, bourgeois state until the war came. Then she awoke to idealism, loyalty, and duty in a way that was magnificent. I prophesy that after this

war religion will stand for nationality. Every social group that has grown up historically will have a corporate personality, every nation will be recognized as inviolable. I want to urge that every church and organization shall demand that no private individual be allowed to make money out of the manufacture of arms—that all this be in the hands of each national government; furthermore, that no nation shall ever claim an inch of territory through right of conquest, and that after the war each organic group of people, both men and women voting, shall itself decide to what nation, if any, it is to be assigned. In case of a threatened war let every nation follow your excellent American suggestion and take a breathing spell of several months before it actually decides what to do.

"Wherever religion has been beneficent and creative it has been identified with the higher patriotism of the people. In ancient Judaism patriotism and religion were identical. Israel was the daughter of God. Jerusalem was the city of God. Religion was identical with the moral life and destiny of God's people. What have we done in our churches? Instead of transfusing our religion with the patriotism of America we have confounded and confused it with the patriotism of the ancient Jews. Suppose the latter had borrowed their national spirit from Assyria or Babylon; they would have died three thousand years ago instead of being, as now, a power unto themselves and to the world. Loyalty to his religion combined with loyalty to his beloved community has made the Jew great in history. When Christianity came it was at first prone to drop patriotism. But later it came to itself and became the soul of the Roman state. Loyalty to the beloved community again showed itself in Christianity; it was a religion which could unify and organize the socialized life of men. Later Germany awakened to a similar consciousness and dignity, resented the dictation of a foreign bishop at Rome, and through Luther's movement religion and patriotism became again identical.

"But let that patriotism not contract itself entirely within the limits of its own nation-

ality. Let it expand and assume universal responsibilities. Let the nations respect and trust, not hate each other. I prophesy that this is what will come to pass in larger degree after the war, even in Germany. There will be something like a United States of Germany, and a United States of Britain, and finally a United States of Central Europe. Even Russia and China will feel this impulse, and then with a democratic system of voting and the influence of these new ideas there will be no more war."

Rev. U. G. B. Pierce, pastor of the national Unitarian church at Washington, D.C., said:—

"The subject of what religion is to be after the war is in every one's mind. Our moods about it go up and down like the barometer. Sometimes we are apprehensive that after the war there will be no religion, sometimes that there will be no particular change in men's conduct or creed. But in our saner moments we recognize the truth that every great experience an individual goes through changes his attitude to the whole world. After such throes and soul experiences as we have passed through, both as individuals and as nation, it is quite impossible that the world of the ideal, the moral viewpoint, should remain unchanged. How shall we venture to forecast the state of mind people are likely to be in when this spasm is over, when the passions are quiet and the fires are banked?

"First, this great conflict can surely not come to an end without the men and women involved being chastened men and women. They will have been purged as by fire. It will be borne in upon them during the crash of battle that it is not by might, by armies and navies, but 'by my spirit' that the real victory is won. After the war ideas must be worked out, ideals tested, spirits adjusted and clarified, vows newly taken, loyalties shown. Sometime this is the only justification for war, that it has chastened people until they are ready to listen to reason.

"Secondly, I think, the temper of the men and women engaged in this great fray is to be seriously affected by their impoverished

and saddened estate. The vast destruction it involves, their personal trials and losses, must affect their mental and spiritual point of view. Every house almost will have its vacant chair. The youth who went forth strong and ardent will return prematurely aged and battle-scarred. But millions will never come back, and their shadowed families will never be the same or take the same view of religion and life as before.

"Are they, however, going to cease being religious? Not unless human nature itself changes. It is prosperity, not adversity, that makes people forget God. After such a war they will not think less of religion, but think more seriously and deeply. I look to see the present struggle followed by one of the greatest revivals of religion ever known in man's history, and by transformations in religious thought and feeling, as well.

"Our own country is not in the war, and yet we feel that it is not the same religiously that it was six months ago. Every preacher knows that there is increasing seriousness and interest in religion among his people and in the community. But is the human race going back to the religion of Jesus? After two thousand years of progress, Biblical criticism and scientific research, shall we be satisfied to return to his primitive and simple teachings? I answer, there is no such thing as going back to the religion of Jesus. The religion of Jesus is not behind us, it is ahead of us. Christ is not a memory of the past, he is an ideal for the future. When some one criticised Wordsworth to Coleridge, calling him a small poet, Coleridge answered, 'He appears to you small because he is so far ahead of you that he looks small.' The religion of the Nazarene is not a thing to be reverted to in certain issues of life, but something ahead of us which grows clearer and more attractive the more loyal and self-resourceful we are. The gospel of Christ in its simplicity, free from the distortions and accretions which have gathered around it, is the rational religion of the human soul. It alone will satisfy the men and women who have been so tried and tested

and chastened and hardened by their experiences during the war.

"There is not time, nor is there need before such an audience to put emphasis on the elements of this gospel. The alone we need to recall namely that in it and none the secret of the Christian gospel lies in the life of service for our kind. Jesus washing his disciple's feet is a picture we need to treasure. The humility of loving service for our fellow-men is the ideal for us to cherish. This gospel under whatever name could get into synagogue and mosque and temple and cathedral and the lives of those who have suffered by this war, how it would purge the chastened soul, enven the impervious heart and heart and cheer the sunburnt spirit. Let it write itself into new and revised laws until a new tenderness and humanism shall come into the world. Let us give our lives to its propagation and victory on earth.

Rev Arthur C. McGiffert D.D. of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, closing the discussion said: A religious tract will prove to a lasting peace among the nations of the earth which will help make another conflict such as a new Jesus taking the world forever impossible—that is what we shall want after the war. What kind of a religion must it be?

Permanent peace among the nations does not depend solely or even mainly upon religion. The latter is only one of many influences that move for peace. The common sense of mankind will ultimately work out some scheme for the prevention of public war as it has already successfully depended on putting on and to private war. But religion may greatly aid in the bringing in of non-hostile era of world-wide and permanent peace. First of all, if religion is to prevent peace it must stop supporting war. It is not after the time of it. Religion always supplies sanction and inspiration for whatever a man's nation feels called upon to do. Therefore to hinder or prevent war you must give to men and nations other and higher ideals and conceptions of duty that the power of religion may stand in ever and more wh-

channels. If there is any duty for religious men to-day it is to protest against the profanation of religion to selfish, partisan ends. War is not always and necessarily wrong. Nations may have a moral right to fight, but God ought not to be appealed to to support such a right. Let us refrain from asking the God we worship from descending to the level of the war-gods of olden time. We may claim the sanctity of necessity or of human right for certain wars, but let us not try to claim for them the sanctity of religion. Ministers should refuse to pray for divine aid in the martial adventures of their country. For the religious sanction which war enjoys and the religious devotion it implies are undoubtedly among the secrets of its persistence. Let the nations go into the conflict without expecting divine support and realize that until the war is over they will be a nation without God, and they will hesitate longer than they do, and religion will no longer support war, as it is now doing.

"Secondly, we must get over the notion that religion is a national affair. The belief that God is the God of the nation is inherited from a remote antiquity and inevitably makes for war instead of peace. If religion is to make for peace instead of war it must be recognized that God is the God of humanity as a whole, and that we are his children, not as citizens of the commonwealth, but as members of the human race. Not as Americans or Englishmen or Germans, but as men are we children of God, and our service should know no national bounds and no racial limitations. A natural effect of war is greatly to arouse national feeling, and after the present conflict is over the tendency for a long time will doubtless be to conceive religion wholly in national terms. The duty of Christian men is imperative, therefore, to combat this by every means in their power. The war will probably lead to a great revival of religious devotion and even of outworn superstitions of all kinds. The danger is that our Christianity will give sanction and comfort to a narrow and exclusive patriotism which makes directly against the coming of the kingdom of God

and puts back the time when the whole world shall live together in sympathy, fellowship, and peace. The present situation shows that while religion has done much for our personal ideals it has done very little as yet for our national ideals. The world sorely needs new and higher standards of national conduct, and here Christianity may, if it will, be of greatest service. The whole conception of loyalty needs revising, that insincerity, selfishness, and materialism may not mask as patriotism. Many are the preachers of individual morality; how few of the principles of national morality! How many call men to account for their sins; how few call the nation to account! Most devout Christians become wholly pagan where national affairs are concerned. The reformation and elevation of national ideals is the instant duty of religion. Its mission is to promote the sense of international brotherhood and the ideal of international fellowship and co-operation, that suspicion and hate and war shall become forever things of the past."

VIII.

RELIGIOUS UNITY.

The closing session of the Congress, on Wednesday evening, was in the nature of a symposium on "Religious Unity," with brief addresses by a number of speakers representing various denominations. The opening prayer was by Rev. Dr. George C. Richmond, an Episcopal rector of Philadelphia. Dr. O. Edward Janney of Baltimore, a prominent member of the Society of Friends, brought a greeting and reaffirmed the basic principles of his denomination,—a democratic, simple, spiritual, brotherly religion, set forth in life and worship. Rev. Edward Clarke of Concordville, a suburb of Philadelphia, an Episcopalian clergyman, spoke of his enjoyment of the Congress and belief in the fellowship of the spirit and need for church unity. Rev. Charles A. Knickerbocker, Universalist pastor in Reading, Pa., spoke eloquently for his communion. As the fighting men on the battle-line, in moments when there is a lull, forget their localized hatreds and fraternize with friendly mes-

sages and kindly deeds, so let the members of differing churches and sects keep in mind their common humanity and that they are all alike the children of God. In the consciousness of an all-inclusive brotherhood lies the solution of all the problems that now perplex and distress us.

A Jewish speaker, Rabbi Nathan Meyer of Philadelphia, said that a complete unity of thought, deed, and worship was impossible perhaps, and might even be undesirable, but diversity without unity was much worse. It was this which had caused such division, narrowness, and intolerance in the world, and let loose the evil forces of prejudice, hatred, and war. Unity in diversity was the true goal to be aimed at, and was beautifully illustrated at this Congress, which was a symphony in which each loyally pledged his own individual and historic part and helped produce the harmonies whose gladness and glory shall yet fill the world.

Rev. Oscar B. Hawes, pastor of the Unitarian church in Germantown, representing his branch of the Christian Church, also paid a warm tribute to the Congress and its testimony for freedom, love, and peace. The spirit of service, he thought, was the deepest lesson it emphasized, quoting the word of Jacob Riis in the midst of his work in the New York slums: "I live in the best of all possible times, when a man does not have to dream things good, but can help make them so."

Addresses had been announced from Rev. Hugo Eisenlohr of the liberal German Evangelical church of Cincinnati, S. Burns Weston, director of the Philadelphia Ethical Society, and others, but they were prevented at the last moment from filling their appointments.

Rev. Charles W. Wendte gave the concluding address of the Congress, on "The Unity of the Spirit." He portrayed the endeavors made in Christian history to unite all men on the basis of a common church, liturgy, and worship, and showed how always it had failed and must ever fail, alike in Roman Catholic and in Protestant circles. The attempt to unite men on the basis of a common creed, or system of intellectual

belief, was equally futile. Men's faces were not more different than their antecedents, minds, tastes, preilections, and needs. The present lamentable divisions and antagonisms in the Christian world were an inevitable result of such mistaken conceptions of unity and false methods of bringing about religious fellowship. There remained the unity of the spirit and life amidst great varieties of thought, worship, and church affiliation. It was chiefly for the promotion of such an ideal of religious unity that this Congress existed. The speaker recited a number of cheering illustrations from the current church and religious life of to-day to show how this conception of religious unity, based on character, devoutness, love, and service, was making headway in America and throughout the world, closing with a plea for world brotherhood.

A resolution affirming the principle of non-resistance as the true solution of the problem of universal peace was offered by Rev. Charles E. Beals of Boston, and, not without dissent, adopted. A number of additional directors were elected, and a vote of thanks to their Philadelphia hosts, especially the Society of Friends, was passed with grateful acknowledgments.

Mention should be made in this connection of the wise and loyal service rendered by Rev. Charles E. St. John of the First Unitarian Church of Philadelphia, R. Barclay Spider of the Society of Friends, Rabbis H. Berkowitz and Joseph Krauskopf, D.D., and others too numerous to indicate separately.

The hour for adjournment had arrived. Following the beautiful Quaker custom, the president, Prof. Jessie H. Holmes, bade the audience "gather into the silence" for a moment, after which he uttered a touching prayer closing with the words, "Father, give us the sense of true brotherhood. May it transform the world and know no bound, of sect or race or nationality!"

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